2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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of said. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted because I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been mentioned in another place, the wife never took the husband's name, but retained her old one. When not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-cikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *koku-cikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so

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place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *uare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

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CHAPTER XXVIII

ON NAMES AND NAME GIVING

"Samaria..... Samaria!.....SA-MA-RIA!" 551
and yet again "O Samaria!" in a more impatient tone of voice. With such calls were my ears greeted as I was passing through the village toward my home one day. I had not heard the call before and wondered what it meant and was all alert, ready to set down a new word. Upon arriving at the hut I asked the chief what it could be, and he told me that Samaria was the name of a little girl. "That is curious," I remarked. "How did she come by such a name?" "Oh," replied he, "I one day heard you speaking about Samaria and I thought it sounded so nice that I borrowed it and gave it to a little girl who was as yet unnamed." Mrs. Samaria is still living and is now a grandmother. She is the daughter of old Mr. Bright, whom I have already mentioned. Penri's wife's name was Orosia and he told me that it was an imitation of the name Russian.

The chief seemed to copy a good deal. One day I 000
came unexpectedly to the hut when I heard him speaking in quite a loud voice. There sat the old fellow, nearly drunk, with a congregation of ancients in front of him, *preaching* of all things in the world! His subject was Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and he was giving it in different tones of voice, making a dialogue of it between God, Adam, Eve and the serpent. I suddenly popped my head into the hut, when there was a mighty roar of laughter! The sermon ended quite in a hurry, and I then had my innings.

After a few years Penri asked me to become name- 553
maker to the village. Sometime later, sixteen women

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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553 sent to ask me to provide names for their babies and I spent a whole day and night in thinking them out. I found it to be a very difficult task. They came at the appointed time to receive names, but just as I was beginning, in walked two more happy mothers, each with a baby for me to name! There was no time for consideration and the only thing I could think of just then was "that blessed word *Mesopotamia*!" Nothing else would come, so I took a leaf out of Penri's book and called the boy *Mesa* and the girl *Potamia*. These did very well. So there are at the present time a Samaria and a Potamia about Piratori, who have grown up and are grandmothers.

● 551 There were no surnames among the people when I first knew them. Each individual, whether male or female, had but one name. Nor did the woman change her name upon marriage. Thus Penri was simply Penri, and Orosia had no other name than Orosia. Later, however, it was found necessary to add a surname for registration purposes. As a rule, they took the name of their native village. Thus, Piratori was [178] called by the Japanese Hiramura, so that every person born in this place was registered as a Hiramura. In this way Penri came later to be called Hiramura Penri and his wife Hiramura Orosia.

553 To his other duties I found that chief Penri added that of name-maker to the village children, and he told me that he often found it a very difficult problem to think out fitting ones for the candidates. When he asked me to take over the job, I requested him to give me all the information he could as to how the names should be made up. What now follows will embody the advice he was then good enough to give me.

Said he, "Be very careful not to use the name of anyone who has died, for that name is sacred to the deceased, who is still known by it to the gods, demons and his ancestors in the nether world. Though out of [775] their material bodies, the departed ones are always

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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alive in the spirit kingdom and carry their names with them. Should the name of a departed one be applied to a boy or girl in our world, it would grieve the soul of the dead one and call forth displeasure. Some sickness or other evil would be sure to follow, for the spirits of the dead can and do act upon the living for good or ill, when they have a mind to do so. For this reason, no person may take the name of a deceased parent, friend or ancestor.

"Names," continued my friend, "are lucky or unlucky as the case may be. They bring good fortune if rightly applied, and ill fortune if bestowed wrongly. In themselves, names are living beings, and, like the persons to whom they are given, they have separate personal identities and must therefore be treated with due respect." This is a wonderful doctrine which I found fully believed in.

A sickly young girl came to me one day and asked if I would kindly change her name. "But what is the matter with your name? Why do you wish me to change it?" I asked. The poor thing replied, "I am always ailing and I believe it is because my name does not fit me." And with a big sigh she added, "Please take it off me and bestow on me another." I thereupon told her that her name was changed from that moment into Reishipi, and this means, in Ainu, "a changed name." She at once imagined herself much better and went away fully satisfied. The new name evidently fitted her, for she soon got married and brought up a family afterwards.

Penri, continuing his instructions, added, "One must be very careful not to give a child the name of any other person, for a name can only rightly belong to one individual. If several persons were called by the same name, it would confuse gods and demons alike, as well as people here and those gone before. The gods would bless or curse the wrong persons, and the demons would not know for certain which party

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. 553
Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language 551
better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never 593
once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. 551
She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said, [462]
"It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
●551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teachi[illegible] came down from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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down. After mashing the fish roe into a liquid, he, Mr. Otter, proceeded to rub it into the fox's fur. In this way he turned it from white to red. And so it comes to pass that foxes are now red and not white as formerly. Mr. Fox was highly delighted with the change and, in order to return the compliment, procured some phillodendron bark, boiled it and then dyed Mr. Otter's fur with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown color we now find it to be."

On asking my friend why the Ainu regarded the river otter as more forgetful than other animals, he gave me the following piece of lore.

"The river otter is a most curious and wasteful creature. He can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he carries it ashore, takes just one mouthful out of the back near its head, and then straightway leaves the remainder. It is left to rot on the river bank. No sooner has he swallowed the titbit bitten out of its back than he forgets all about it, throws the carcass away and sets off to catch another fish. He very seldom stays to finish off what he has caught. He can't help it, but he immediately forgets his kill. This is the reason why any person with a bad memory is called 'Otter-Head.'"

I believe the worst names one Japanese can call another by are "fool" and "beast." "Liar" does not seem to count with them as it does with English speaking peoples. In Ainu, the worst names one can give another are "misser of the mark" (fool) and "corpse." There are, of course, several lighter names sometimes given, which are very amusing and are bestowed by way of fun, conveying a modicum of censure in them. It is of some of these I desire to write now.

"Otter-head" has already been touched upon. But as there were one or two other points connected with this name which were not mentioned there, I think it will be well to finish with them first.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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very powerful remedy against certain ailments. A little of it cut up very fine and taken in warm water cures pains in the stomach, and if some is set on a stick by the hearth it drives away the demon of disease! Such, I was told, is the Ainu belief.

I have heard one or two other bad names, in addition to "Otter Head," used at times, each of which carries its own little sting in it. Thus, "Crook-back" is applied to poor, stooping, weakly people at times, and also to lazy, worthless folk. It refers to the human backbone, the original one being supposed to have been made of willow wood which bends down when growing old. One man I heard called a "mangy old deer;" and a very haughty young dude was dubbed by a lady whom he had offended, a "little hairless creature," i.e. "neither man nor boy" or perhaps "unfledged creature," "leather-like," or "beardless one."

These are curious and interesting names, all of them, and they carry little or much according to the tone of voice and the message flashed at one by the eye. I heard one burly man, who had called up the ire of a woman, called by her in her wrath, a "man-eater bear," and this made him quite angry.

I have heard people called *Toikchunra*, which is the name given to black, evil demons. With reference to these beings, the following legend was recited to me:—

"God used six stone axes when he made the world. It took Him a very long time to accomplish his task, but it was finished at last. When all was done, He had no more use for the axes, so He cast them into a valley among the mountains and went back to His home in Heaven. Here they lay for many years till they became quite rotten and worn away with the running water. As this water was tainted by the stone and became foul, all kinds of diseases, particularly colds and consumption, arose out of it. Moreover, all the demon-elves of the land and fresh waters have their origin in this water. Some of this putrified

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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539 stuff flowed down to the sea and mixed with the salt waters of the ocean and became the origin of all the mermaids and demon-elves there. Not only so, but some of it gradually sank down through the earth, where it became in Hades a big river full of bogs and quagmires."

The name of this river is Black-River, or perhaps River of Death, and out of it come all the evil spirits of the lower regions. Right in the centre of a big quagmire, surrounded by the river, the head demon of Hades is at home, and he has a big body of stone. His name is *Hekuure*. The name *Toi-hekuure*, by which I heard a man called, means, according to this, "Wicked Demon." These are not at all nice names and they carry their bitterness and do their work; moreover, [551] they afford some remarkable information as to the working of the minds of this race.

I was very much amused one day by hearing a jealous, angry little girl call her companion, with whom she was quarrelling, by the name of *Pen*. This word means "Lowlander." I could not understand why this should be before I heard the story I am now about to cite, which may well be called the Story of Pen and Pan.

"One day Mr. Pen (*Pen* means 'upper') had a strong desire to become rich. After a great deal of thought, he determined to use his inherent magic powers and work it that way. So he made his own tail become longer and longer till it reached to Matomai. It came right into the court of the Lord of this place. When my Lord saw what he thought to be a very beautiful pole, he ordered his servants to hang his very best garments over it to air. When all was quiet again, Mr. Pen gently withdrew his tail with all the garments on it, and so became very rich.

"His great wealth soon became noised abroad, so when Mr. Pan heard of it he came to him and asked him how he managed to become so suddenly rich. 'Oh,' said he, 'come in and sit down, and I will tell you all

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Place-names.	Japanese.	Ainu.
Ina	(Phonetic)	The promontory.
Inamo	Leaning clouds	The bay near the promontory.
Naki	Name tree	Stream.
Nabari	Name flat	The cliff by the stream.
Saba	(Phonetic)	Dry river.
Sara	...do	The grassy plain.
Tanabe	Rice-field name, tribe	Long river.
Tonami	Hares in a row	The stream from the lake.
Tsushima	Opposite horses	The distant island.
Uda	(Phonetic)	Sand.

The distribution of names which are unquestionably of Aino origin, can be traced through the main island, and through Shikoku and Kiushiu, even into the extreme southern province of Osumi, and across the sea in the islands of Iki and Tsushima. "The dawn of history shows them (the Ainos) to us living far to the south and west of their present haunts, and ever since then, century by century, we see them retreating westwards under the pressure of the colonists from Europe." • • •

[131]

Evidently the Japanese Government can not, with the best of intentions, preserve the race much longer from extinction. If the Ainos once inhabited southern Japan, as the evidence of geographical place-names seems to prove, and if they have gradually been driven northward, their presence in the north of the main island within the historic period leads to the supposition that the early Japanese were the aggressors. If this were so, we would expect some allusion to the fact in ancient traditions and literature. The Japanese records of events previous to the historic period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, but it is significant that some of the half-mythical personages bear Aino names. Thus Tomibiko, for example, means nothing in Japanese, but the Ainos have the word *tumi*, "of war," which, in combination with the Japanese *biko* or *hiko*, "prince," gives us "Prince of war." The Ukashi are evidently the elders, from the Aino word *ekashi*. Instances like these might be multiplied.

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[551]

According to Japanese records Japan was once inhabited by a race of dwarfs, who lived in underground dwellings—"earth-spiders," they were called. These were exterminated by the Japanese as the latter spread over the country. There are also allusions to a hairy race of savages called Yebisu, or Yemishi. This word is usually assumed to designate the Ainos, with whom the Japanese must have come in contact very early. It would appear, therefore, that the Japanese found the country inhabited by two different races, the so-called cave-dwellers and the Ainos, a supposition which seems not improbable in the light of recent ethnographic studies. In the preceding paper ("The Pit-dwellers of Yezo") the author has brought forward evidence to prove that certain excavations in the ground, quite numerous in Yezo, are the ruins of ancient dwellings, once inhabited by a people unlike the Ainos. The Ainos have, in fact, a tradition concerning such a race of pit-dwel-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

The following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types.

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes."
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe ; *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina or Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 61		1. 58¾	
2. 65		2. 59⅞	
3. 60¼	Med. 62 1/16	3. 59½	Med. 58¾.
4. 64⅛		4. 54⅝	
5. 61		5. 59½	

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
[551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] [422] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Mr. Sugiura

states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them. According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered. It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*. Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage. These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been considered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.